1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
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578 Among the Badagas, Konga is used as a term of abuse. Those who made mistakes in matching Holmgren's wools, with which I tested them, were always called Konga by the onlookers.

576 (561) When two Badagas meet each other, the elder touches the head of the younger with his right hand. This form of salutation is known as giving the head. A person of the Badaga section gives the head, as it is called, to an Udaiyar, in token of the superiority of the latter. When people belong to the same sept, they say "Ba, anna, appa, thamma, amma, akka" (come, father, brother, (612) mother, sister, etc.). But, if they are of different septs, they will say "Ba, māma, māmi, bava" (come, uncle, aunt, brother-in-law, etc.). "Whenever," Dr. Rivers 609 writes,* "a Toda meets a Badaga monegar (headman), or an old Badaga with whom he is acquainted, a salutation passes between the two. The Toda stands before the Badaga, inclines his head slightly, and says 'Madtin pudia.' (Madtin, you have come). The Badaga replies 'Buthuk! buthuk!' (blessing, blessing), and rests his hand on the top of the Toda's head. This greeting only takes place between Todas and the more important of the Badaga community. It would seem that every Badaga headman may be greeted in this way, but a Toda will only greet other Badaga elders, if he is already acquainted with them. The salutation is made to members of all the various castes of the Badagas, except 648 the Toreyas. It has been held to imply that the Todas regard the Badagas as their superiors, but it is doubtful how far this is the case. The Todas themselves say they follow the custom because the Badagas help to support them. It seems to be a mark of respect paid

(113)

* The Todas, 1906.

1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
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789 twice more. A general feast closes the ceremony, and
796 next day the first ploughings are done, the Kurumba sowing the first seeds, and the priests the next lot.
(241) Finally, a net is brought. The priest of the temple, standing over it, puts up prayers for a favourable agricul-
796 tural season; two fowls are thrown into it, and a pretence
782 is made of spearing them; and then it is taken and put across some game path, and some wild animal (a sāmbhar deer if possible) is driven into it, slain, and divided among the villagers. This same custom of annually killing a sāmbhar is also observed at other villages on the plateau, and in 1883 and 1894 special orders were passed to permit of its being done during the close
789 season. Latterly, disputes about precedence in the matter
796 of walking through the fire at Mēlūr have been carried as far as the civil courts, and the two factions celebrate
• (578) the festival separately in alternate years. A fire-walking ceremony also takes place annually at the Jadayasvāmi temple in Jakkanēri under the auspices of a Sivāchāri
(231) Badaga. It seems to have originally had some connection with agricultural prospects, as a young bull is made to go partly across the fire-pit before the other devotees, and the owners of young cows which have had their first calves during the year take precedence of others in the ceremony, and bring offerings of milk, which are sprinkled over the burning embers."

796 At the Sakalathi festival, in the month of October,
(824) Badagas, towards evening, throw on the roofs of their houses flowers of *Plectranthus Wightii*, *Crotalaria obtecta*, *Lobelia nicotianæfolia*, *Achyranthes aspera*, and *Leucas aspera*. On the following day, they clean their houses, and have a feast. In the afternoon, numbers of them may be seen in the streets drawing in front of their houses pictures in wood-ashes of buffaloes, bulls, cows,

1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
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585 Kota musicians, and bring therefrom water for cooking purposes in decorated new pots. The bride then salutes all her new relations, and they in turn give her their blessing. The ceremonial concludes with a feast, at the conclusion of which, in some cases, the bride and bridegroom sit on the raised verandah (pial), and receive presents.

181 "Though," a correspondent writes, "the Badaga is simple, and his wants are few, he cannot resist the temptation of wine and women. The Badaga woman 586 can change husbands as often as she pleases by a simple 587 system of divorce, and can also carry on with impunity (837) intimacy within the pale of her own community. It is not uncommon to find Badaga women changing husbands, so long as youth and vigour tempt them to do so, and confining themselves eventually to the last individual, after age and infirmity have made their mark, and render such frolics inexpedient." A former Magistrate of the •578 Nīlgiris informs me that he tried more than one case, in 691 which a married man filed a complaint against another man for kidnapping or enticing away his wife for immoral purposes. The father of the woman was always charged as an abetter, and pleaded that, as no pariyam (bride price) had been paid by the husband, though he and the woman lived together as man and wife, no criminal offence could be proved against either the 595 father or the abductor. Polygamy is permitted, and the plurality of wives is a gain to the husband, as each wife becomes a bread-winner, and supports her children, and the man makes each wife superintend one depart- 587 ment of the day's work. Remarriage of widows is very common, and a widow may marry the brother of her 837 deceased husband. It is said to be etiquette among the Badagas that, when a woman's husband is away, she

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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concurrently or sequentially, from his aunts' and nieces' generation levels as well as from his own: such co-wives would all attain the generation level of their husband by these marriages. It is this outlook on women that permits Badaga marriages even between differently ranked clans without any thought of hypergamy being advantageous or hypogamy reprehensible.

Marriage between cross-cousins is the ideal, but because a young man's spiritual guidance is the responsibility of the mother's brother his daughter is less preferable as a bride for that youth than the father's sister's daughter. The mother's brother, called a *guru*, has a distinctly superior status to his nephew's, yet as giver of a daughter in marriage he must occupy an inferior position in the eyes of the groom and the groom's parents. This is because the bride's father feels under some obligation to the family who will take away his daughter. As one old man explained the matter, the feeling is expressed in the newly emerging practice of offering gifts of some thousands of rupees to 'bribe' a youth into a marriage. The likelihood of role ambiguity in cases where a man marries his *guru's* daughter is avoided either by searching out a classificatory cross-cousin, or by choosing the daughter of a mother's brother other than the spiritual guide or by marrying a father's sister's daughter. (Only among the Toreas is marriage with a classificatory niece permissible: she is a father's brother's daughter's daughter.)

Role ambiguity may also affect the women in a household where a man has married his *guru's* daughter. In that situation the bride's aunt (her father's sister) is also her husband's mother. The bride, relying on her father's influence over his own sister, tends to quarrel more with her than in the alternative case where a man has married his father's sister's daughter: the latter should be more timid and controllable and thus more appreciated.

A further reason for preferring marriage with a daughter of the father's sister is the need for reciprocity in bride-giving between exogamous villages. If a man marries his mother's brother's daughter, he is *taking* a girl from the same village, lineage and family whence his own father also *took* a wife. On the other hand a reciprocal relationship has been honoured, Badagas feel, when the youth *takes* his bride (the father's sister's daughter) from the same village, lineage and family to which his father's father *gave* a daughter in marriage. Since bride-giving is thought to be somewhat demeaning, this reciprocity allows the families to maintain their relative social standing.

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159 691 692 Kallan was apparently willing to accept this, for he was now urging Nandi to repay the supposed loan but under no circumstances to go to a lawcourt. Now it is up to Nandi to solve the problem, still at stalemate in 1975. The solution which he chooses must be couched in the current ambilegal idiom. If he attempts a solution purely in the traditional idiom or purely in the lawcourt idiom, without taking into account the alternate system and Kallan's possible manipulation of it, then Nandi's chances of ultimate success are slim.

The point which the case of Kallan and Nandi underlines is that the introduction of British procedural law in the nineteenth century did not simply offer Badagas an alternative or more effective approach for solving conflicts in their community. The procedure in a lawcourt must have seemed capricious to a villager: it operated on the assumption that all individuals were equal before the law and that the proceedings must work directly towards a just decision; whether a man was a Torea or a member of the gentry was irrelevant to how he would be treated; his past history and his family's reputation were similarly not taken into consideration. To Kallan and Nandi, therefore, as to many of their Badaga contemporaries, the lawcourt is less a mechanism for dispensing impartial justice than a possible means of revenge and a process for overcoming one's opponent (regardless of who may actually be in the right). The use of a lawcourt can involve an 691 opponent in crippling legal costs, and the prospect of these costs 692 may frighten him into compliance with what is wanted of him. •518 Threatening to go to a lawcourt after receiving unfavourable treatment from the village council can also be used to undermine the authority of the elders and cast aspersions upon the village's respectability. For over a century Badagas have had a saying that runs: 'If you prefer a complaint to a magistrate, it is as if you had put poison into your adversary's food' (Metz, 1864, 92; Grigg, 1880, 224). The belief is still voiced today; but in the interim Badagas have learned how to apply the poison effectively.

POLITICAL CHOICE

646 For the past five decades Badagas have been elected to seats in the state legislature, and for the past three there have been Badaga Members of Parliament. In recent years (as an effect of earlier

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648		sorcerer killed by Badagas and Todas, after three sudden deaths in a Badaga headman's family.
656 731	1884	Conclusion of Final Land Settlement (1881–1884). Drought in Nilgiris, followed by crop failure.
164 797	1887	Some smallpox; school attendance decreased following a series of conversions. Kurumba shot by a Badaga whose wife he had bewitched.
797	1889	First mission school opened in Kundena:du, at Bikkaṭṭi, by request of 'a friendly Badaga'.
	1890–1910	'Bible women' (South Indian Christians) active in trying to convert Badaga women; very little success.
648	1891	Massacre of Kurumbas by Badagas.
733 578	1897	Opium-eating noted to be on the increase. Factions formed among Ha:ruvas over who should have precedence in walking over fire at their Mahaliṅga festival.
164 731 648	1900	Typhoid epidemic and famine among Badagas; earthquake in Nilgiris; massacre of Kurumbas by Badagas.
	1901	Conversion of Kereha:da headman's daughter; attempt to isolate the Badagas of that area from the rest of their community.
797	1902–1903	Epidemic of plague among Badagas.
(164)	1904	Police used to suppress Badaga persecution of a new group of converts; after this date there was no further physical harrassment of Christians.
164	1904–1905	Plague among Badagas.
731 733	1906	Minor earthquake in the Nilgiris; houses shook. Much higher rate of intoxication than in previous years. By now about eight hundred protestant converts.

797 The cut-off date of 1906 in this skeleton history is somewhat arbitrary; nevertheless it is clear that the misfortunes that dogged 178 the Badagas became considerably less frequent after this date. In 1907 the converts were having factional disputes amongst themselves.

FACTORS LEADING TO STRESS

127 Biographical material in publications of the Basel Evangelical Lutheran Mission and in the minutes of the Ke:ti parish for the

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Badaga asked a Christian woman for food, and she remarked on the risk of her polluting him. The man answered: 'In your Bible it is written: If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink. Therefore consider me as your enemy and act in accordance with your Bible.' The woman had to give the knowing heathen food (B.E.M.S., 1906, no. 67, 82).

Instances of spiritual aid being sought by Hindus from the missionary should also be noted, however; particularly at times of sickness and death: 'You are our Padre . . . if you only look at the sick or put your hand on their heads, they will feel relieved' (B.E.M.S., 1905, no. 66, 68).

REACTIONS OF THE BADAGAS TO EVANGELIZATION

Missionary activity and the other stress-producing factors we have mentioned led to a wide variety of reactions among nineteenth-century Badagas. Some attempted to incorporate Christianity into their own religion or to bolster their religion so that it might be as effective as Christianity; some attacked or intimidated the converts; some threatened the missionaries; some murdered Kurumba sorcerers; some took to opium or liquor; many became involved in factional disputes; while a few ignored the wishes of their relatives and were converted.

Conversion (1) was at one end of a spectrum of reactions that also included (2) quiet acceptance of much in Christian teaching, but without formal conversion; (3) ambivalent feelings leading a man to seek and appreciate temporal help from the missionaries, but only when he could not possibly do without it; (4) ignorance of Christianity and an uncomfortable avoidance of the missionaries; (5) ostracism and threats of violence directed against missionaries, converts and potential converts; (6) physical violence, using sticks, stones, fists and blunderbusses against converts.

Attempts to Syncretize Christianity and Hinduism

One reported pattern of behaviour among Hindu Badagas exposed to proselytization was the attempt to syncretize the two religions. As early as 1849 some people were praying to the 'God Jesus', and in 1850 a headman was heard to invoke Jesus among other gods as he knelt on the bank of a stream during a Hindu

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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626 close relatives and any other Badagas who were receptive to the
797 missionary message. Many cases could be cited from mission publications of Badagas who wavered in their attitude towards conversion. Metz for example commented that

> . . . the people of a village can be really affected by the love of Christ, when it is preached to them . . . But when I come again on my next tour . . . I find that in the meantime they have been so frightened by Satan and his tools that they hide in their houses when they hear that I have come, or run away when I ask them to listen if only for ½ hour. They fear to be convinced by my sermon and to have to suffer for it from their relations (B.E.M.S., 1870, no. 31, 22–23).

In some instances men waited till they were dying before openly requesting baptism (B.E.M.S., 1878, no. 39, 63). Individuals were always extremely reticent to become the first converts of their village. They often promised they would become Christians if their friends or relatives would lead the way. Thus Metz (1864, 135) remarked:

> . . . there are Badagas who will readily kneel down with me and offer up a prayer in which their wants were often expressed more forcibly, than they probably would have been by many a nominal Christian, and who, for several years, have discontinued idol worship; but when I ask them to go one step further . . . they immediately refer me to another, and say that if he will set the example, they will follow it; and if I appeal to him, he puts it off with a similar excuse.

Their immediate family problem was expressed by several to the preacher: 'What you say is true; but were we to follow your advice, we should have no hope of getting wives for our sons.' (B.E.M.S., 1853, no. 13, 39; 1856, no. 16, 34; 1858, no. 18, 92). Intermarriage between Hindus and Christians was unthinkable. (582) Fear of ostracism was great, and held men back from the Christian fold.

159 The biographies of some converts vividly convey the extent to
626 which the Hindus tried to force converts back into their old ways.
● 518 The following slightly abbreviated quotations offer a representa-
797 tive pair of case histories.[1]

(1) [Mada, baptized Mark] . . . had a wife and a little

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child ... The wife had promised to join him [in Christianity]. But on his return from Church the first Sunday, he found the door of his house locked, and his wife did not dare open it for him. Next day his father-in-law came, and took her and her child away to Adhikarhatti. His whole house was pillaged, and property to the value of several hundred rupees was taken away; even his potato field was dug up by his father-in-law. Shortly afterwards Mada's wife returned and was about to fulfil the promise she had made her husband before his conversion that she would also become a Christian. But next day her brother took her away by force, and after a few days she was sold [i.e., married after payment of bridewealth] to another husband. Only the little babe was left to Mada.

The bereaved husband then tried to get back his wife and his property by the help of the law ... But the [Moslem Police] Inspector treated the Christian witnesses with marked rudeness and would not listen to their evidence. Their depositions were sometimes taken down contrary to what was affirmed, in spite of [the missionary] Mr. Lütze's protests, while the witnesses of the opposite party were fully heard and recorded. Mada's wife was constantly surrounded by heathen Badagas, and when her husband asked her whether she had left him of her own free will or by compulsion ... she could only reply as she was told by the Badagas ... At last the police declared that the defendant [her father] had committed no unlawful action, and the case was dismissed ... Heathen neighbours and relations promised [Mada] their assistance to get back his wife and property, on condition that he returned to caste; Kalla especially pledged himself to that end. Mark [Mada] hesitated and wavered ... He stayed away from divine service, and when Kalla carried off Mark's wife by force from the neighbouring village and brought her back to him, when most of the plundered property also came back, he gave way ... (B.E.M.S., 1893, no. 54, 87–88; Harvest Field, 1894, ser. 3, vol. V, 546–551; Lütze, 1894, 22–23).

159 626 177 578

(2) About the beginning of 1893, several young men of Kerehada ... came repeatedly to Mr. Lütze, mostly at night, to express their willingness to become Christians. They were Kalla, ... Karcha, the son, and Konga, the nephew of the *headman* of the village. They broke caste and openly spoke against idolatry and heathenism ... After some time Karcha

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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and Konga asked [the missionary] to lend them some money to clear off their debts, which prevented their joining the Christians. Mr. Lütze had his suspicions, but Joseph. Kalla's cousin, said it would be wrong to hinder the victory of the gospel: he borrowed the money himself and lent it to the young men, getting a bond from them for the same. Then the three young men came to the mission-house at Kaity [i.e., Ke:ti] and openly joined the Christians . . . The news spread like wild fire, and from the villages round to a distance of 15 miles people were flocking into Kaity sitting down inside and outside the mission-compound and trying to persuade the three young men to return to caste. For ten days the entreaties and tears of their female, and the promises and entreaties of their male, relations continued, and repeated endeavors were made to carry them off by force.

At last the young men could stand it no longer. On the 7th. April 1893 Karcha and Konga stole away, and four days afterwards Kalla followed them. By the intrigues of the headman they were after a month re-admitted into caste, and Kalla even succeeded in enticing back his son Madya (Immanuel). The poor boy is now a drunkard and totally ruined. 'It is better to be ruined body and soul than to be a Christian,' that is the opinion held and expressed by many of the heathen. But the heathen Badagas, especially the headman . . ., were not satisfied with these successes. He induced the backsliders to deny the receipt of the money lent to them by Joseph and to force him to return the bonds. Joseph was threatened by them with a cudgelling and with death if he did not return the bonds. Moved by fear he at last returned them. But his tormentors were not satisfied; they refused acceptance of the bonds. Twice Kalla lay in wait for good-natured Joseph . . ., dragged him to a safe place and beat him mercilessly, and Karcha lodged a complaint against Joseph accusing him of fraudulently eliciting a bond from him without paying him the money. He brought false witnesses, who swore to the truth of the complaint. . . . But the case was decided in favour of Joseph. Cheerfully Joseph and Isaiah returned that day from Coonoor to Kerehada. On the way they found Titus of Chogatorre [So:gatore] and invited him to spend the night with them. So the three men wended their way home, followed at a short distance by Isaiah's daughter and his brother-in-law. Just after they had crossed a deep

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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[stream]... Karcha, armed with a cudgel, rushed forward from behind a rock and knocked the three men down. Kalla, Konga and Mark [Mada] also came forth from their hiding place, while the headman of the village with his servants was seen standing at a little distance encouraging the assailants. But as Isaiah's daughter and his brother-in-law called for help, they had to retire. Joseph and Titus were so injured, that they were unable to work for a whole month. Isaiah's arm had to be bandaged. When the assault was inquired into by the police, the assailants turned round and brought a complaint against their victims, whom they represented to have been the aggressors, and sued for Rs. 2,000 damages. This time, however, they were convicted and punished. Daniel also, the brother of Kalla, who had so greatly rejoiced at his brother joining the Christians, had to suffer from Kalla's spite. He drove him, his sick wife and his children out of their own house and locked it. After they got it back, he reaped Daniel's barley crop and filled his verandah with the straw. A few days afterwards the house was partially burned down. In consequence of this, Daniel's wife's illness was so aggravated that she died after long suffering... (B.E.M.S., 1893, no. 54, 88–90; my italics).

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It is apparent from many such cases that the converts, their fellow villagers and even the missionaries were commonly undergoing stress during the latter part of the nineteenth century. Attempts to make the converts return were sometimes legalistic and sometimes not, sometimes violent and sometimes merely argumentative. Much of the behaviour that marked these feuds drew its form and inspiration from the old practice of ostracism. Even before the British came to the Nilgiris Badagas had been in the habit of banishing members of the community for certain categories of crime and anti-social behaviour. Such people would then have to clear a patch of land in the jungle and make a new home there or else find a distant village willing to house them. The attempts to exclude converts from their own villages fitted this pattern and obliged the mission to allocate land near its compound for some of the new converts. Male converts who later reverted to Hinduism were readmitted to the Badaga community by a ceremony which involved shaving the head, cutting the thread of the loincloth, and purifying the tongue by burning it with a golden wire or some charcoal ('Miles', 1951, 70).

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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Violent opposition to almost every conversion characterized relations between Hindu Badagas and the mission from the time of the first conversion in 1858 to 1904, the last year in which some conversions 'roused a storm of persecution which could only be suppressed by the help of the police' (B.E.M.S., 1904, no. 65, 68–69).

At about that time a story was circulating among Badagas and elsewhere in South India that just before Christmas the Christians sacrifice a human and offer the head on their altar; a Freemasons' Lodge in Wellington was said to preserve the skeletons.[14]

Personal Disorientation

There are a number of references in the Nilgiri literature to opium and intoxication. Opium had been produced and taken by the Badagas as early as 1812 at least, when there was an official reference to it (Keys, 1812, li; Macpherson, 1820, lix). But liquor was apparently unknown to them until three decades after their first contacts with the British (Marshall, 1873, 82). It was noted in 1820 (Macpherson, lix) that no intoxicant was distilled, drunkenness was unknown and opium chewed only in moderation. Though opium continued to be taken (Young, 1827, 42), locally made intoxicants were still unknown to the Badagas in 1834 (Ainslie, 1834, 36). By the time the mission was active among them, however, opium-eating was widespread (Metz, 1864, 132; Gover, 1871, 87), even though its manufacture was outlawed by the British in 1854 (Price, 1908, 224). Opium-eating was occasionally a problem in the Christian congregation and continued for long as a solace for the Hindus; it was stated to be on the increase at the turn of the century (B.E.M.S., 1897, no. 59, 64; Basel Mission, 1905, 119, 129–130). Drinking was also an increasing problem at thāt time: in 1892 the Society of Virtuous People at Eḍapaḷḷi tried to stop the use of liquor and drugs there (B.E.M.S., 1892, no. 53, 77–78; Basel Mission, 1905, 170–172, 179). In 1905, a year of plague, some Badagas near Kotagiri decided their whole community was being ruined by drinking, and '... pledged themselves to their goddess Hette to give it up and to excommunicate [i.e., ostracize] everyone who transgresses this convenant' (B.E.M.S., 1905, no. 66, 68). The next year in Ke:ti Wieland noted that drinking was increasing rapidly among Badagas (B.E.M.S., 1906, no. 67, 63). The anecdotes quoted above contain a specific instance (in 2) of acute stress leading to apparent alcoholism; the Ke:ti

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> One day a respectable man interrupted Br. Metz by remarking that through his new doctrine their gods had lost much of the respect and reverence in which they were formerly held and this he said was the cause of the great drought and all their misfortunes. . . . Just at this time he was interrupted . . . by a body of people dragging a dead calf along with them and accusing a Toda boy of having killed it by witchcraft. (B.E.M.S., 1858, no. 18, 91-92; the Toda was rescued by Metz; see Metz, 1864, 22-24, 34).

The last known instance of Badagas killing a supposed Toda sorcerer, around 1895, was in retaliation for the death of a Badaga child (Rivers, 1906, 261; Francis, 1908, 144).

Factionalism

There is no published evidence of any kind of factional division among the Badagas until the late 1850s. The challenging question that this poses must therefore remain unanswered: was the emergence of factional disputes really a reaction to the stresses of crossing the threshold into the modern world, a world which introduced the Badagas to a cash economy with international markets, a code of law under which they were theoretically on an equal footing with everyone else, opportunities for schooling and literacy, obligations to pay taxes and obey strange foreign officials? Or was the periodic factional restructuring of the community an integral part of Badaga life, something which has occurred for as long as Badagas have existed? We have no means of knowing.

There are two different types, or rather different scales, of factions, but both are designated by the same word.[16] First, there are what might be called 'personal' factions or feuds, which stem from differences of opinion in a single village about someone's personal grievance. The second kind of faction embraces virtually all Badaga villages, each of them taking one side or the other in some dispute of general concern to everybody. Descriptions of Badaga reaction to the earliest religious conversions suggest that this type of faction grows out of what is initially a dispute confined to a single village (B.E.M.S., 1889, no. 50, 67-68; Anonymous, 1894, 547-551; Eppler, 1900, 153-155).

From these nineteenth-century descriptions several accounts

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127 might be culled of the process by which factional behaviour starts. However, because of the partisan attitude in the early mission writings, a more recent example of faction formation is preferable. ●518 The following case is a summary of my informant's account (the 621 name is fictitious). What happened prompted the formation of two [124] factions, although the division was probably founded in part on earlier experiences and previous disputes.

> In 1963 when one village was preparing to stage a funeral the headman asked every household to donate three meals for the expected visitors. One man, Ajja, was requested to prepare four meals, perhaps by mistake; and he did as asked, only to find that nobody came to his house to eat them. Why this was so is not clear; but apparently Ajja was not a very pleasant person to get along with. He demanded a refund of the cost of the meals from the general village funds, but the headman decided to do nothing about it. This situation divided the village into two separate communities.
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> At first only three households closely related to him supported Ajja; but after another funeral in the village, other people belonging to the same lineage as those three households found themselves drawn into Ajja's faction. At this point the village council led by the headman forbade any women to help members of Ajja's faction with such tasks as working in their fields. Because of this proscription a number of women were forced to join Ajja's faction: they perhaps had no strong feelings about the actual dispute, but were too poor to forego the Rs. $1\frac{1}{2}$ they were earning as daily labourers.
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> Thus within a few weeks from the start of the grievance typical factional behaviour was characterizing interaction in this village: no one was supposed to talk to members of the opposite faction or to visit their houses and eat with them. In effect, what had been a single village now took on the organization of two non-communicating but interdigitated villages. Within two months from the initial funeral there was a complete break-down in village cooperation at the celebration of festivals: each faction celebrated its own separately from the other.
>
> Yet some ten weeks after the dispute began there were already signs that the factional structure was falling apart. No longer could a rigid separation be maintained between the two

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578 621 factions. Members of one were paying supposedly secret visits a the back doors of friends in the opposite faction; but everybod knew what was really going on. Already it was acceptabl behaviour to talk to members of the other faction on the stree so long as no interdining occurred. The break-up of the fac tional organization was spear-headed by women from othe villages who had married into this one. In a number of instance there were pairs of sisters from another village who wer married to men of opposite factions. In such cases the sisters fe seriously inconvenienced in being separated by a dispute whic did not really concern them; and they took every opportunity t meet secretly and interact with each other across the cleavag that was currently separating their husbands. Nobody in th village really expected the factions to become more rigid: slowl but surely these kinship ties were bringing the two sides togethe

578 By comparison with such frequent and short-term factiona disputes as this example, the all-Nilgiri factions are few bu long-lived. Altogether only a half-dozen of these are known, onl two of them antedating this century.

The first major factionalism we know of, and certainly the mos important if judged by its effects, was that engendered by th conversions that split the community into Christians and Hindu

578 614 The second major dispute in Badaga history emerged in 1897 an like the first, is still the basis for a factional cleavage toda Whether this dispute was triggered by the tensions which missio activity and other trials of that period generated is nowhere clear indicated in our sources. Initially it was only a dispute over whic Ha:ruvas should first walk on the fire during their annual festiva for the god Mahalinga at Me:lu:ru—those of Maṇihaṭṭi or those o Taṅga:ḍu.[17] (By 1897 both these villages had mission schools, bu Taṅga:du, though ritually inferior, was much wealthier tha Maṇihaṭṭi). The dispute grew, and the entire Ha:ruva cla consolidated to claim superiority in status over the Wodeas and a other groups. The Ha:ruvas and certain other Badagas wh support them—pre-eminently in Gauda villages of Kundena:ḍ division—believe the Ha:ruvas were of the high Brahmin *varn* before they left Mysore to settle in the Nilgiris. In support of th belief they cite the facts that they belong to the Brahma sept, the have always been priests for the non-vegetarian Badagas, they a strict vegetarians themselves and they wear a thread across th

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shoulder. Opponents of the Ha:ruva claim include the majority of Badagas. They perhaps recognize that the Ha:ruvas have no knowledge of Sanskrit or any other sacred literature—since until the present century they were all illiterate; furthermore there is no ceremony for investiture of the 'sacred' thread and no concept of being 'twice-born'. But the argument most generally used against the Ha:ruvas' claim is that they are only priests in Badaga temples (including the one at Me:lu:ru) because the various non-vegetarian phratries appointed them to act in this role; just as they appointed certain Todas, Kurumbas and Toreas to act in special economic and social roles for the benefit of the entire village. Gaudas commonly assert the Ha:ruvas are equal in status with the Gaudas, amongst whom they find spouses.

Although it is the Wodeas whom the Ha:ruvas contest for ritual superiority, there has been no open clash between Ha:ruvas and Wodeas. This is not too surprising, considering that Wodeas are Lingayat while Ha:ruvas are not; Wodeas never employ Ha:ruva priests; Wodeas do not intermarry with Ha:ruvas at all and do not live near those who triggered the dispute; and thus Wodea/Ha:ruva interaction has always been minimal.

The main clash in this dispute has been between Ha:ruvas and most of the lower-status Gauda phratry, who resent the Ha:ruvas' claim. Only a minority of Gaudas support the Ha:ruvas; the remaining villages have not only denounced Ha:ruva pretensions but some decades ago broke off their ceremonial relations with them. In most Gauda villages the Ha:ruva priests were supplanted in their duties by non-Ha:ruva members of the village; Gauda marriages with Ha:ruva men and women ceased, and already married couples were sometimes peremptorily divorced by the village headman; interdining with Ha:ruvas was stopped; and occasional fights would break out, particularly at festivals when the customary Ha:ruva priests tried to perform their ritual duties and members of the anti-Ha:ruva faction tried to stop them.

The Ha:ruva dispute has never been resolved. In the earlier decades of its history it was marked by the usual fights, lack of intermarriage or interdining between disputants and even by resort to the British Indian legal system. (A case against Ha:ruvas was carried, I am told, as far as the Privy Council.) Recently the dispute has cooled to the point where it only becomes relevant in the arrangement of marriages. This also seems to be the present case with the conflict between Hindu and Christian Badagas. In

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either instance marriages now sometimes occur across the cleavage.

In summary we can say that Badaga factions arise from and give expression to a situation of stress in the community. However, only one of the half-dozen important factional disputes arose directly from the stressful experience of evangelization.

The Cult of Irabattaraya

So far I have described many types of reaction to evangelization and certain calamities without encountering any movement that meets Wallace's (1966, 158-163) criteria for a successful revitalization of a culture. Let us now review what little is known about the cult of the Wodeas' god Irabattaraya (Virabadraya), since this was a kind of eschatological movement.

> A rumour was spread that the God Irabattaraya, born of a white elephant, would come up to the hills within some months bringing to each [Badaga] a true Linga, & consuming Mr. Metz with the breath of his mouth. Even the Todas, ignorant as they are of Vishnoo & Shiva, accepted the mark of Shiva on their foreheads, that they also might be acknowledged by the God as his followers when he would appear. This excited such a sensation among the people, that for some time the proscribed Missionary had the utmost difficulty to get a hearing. But the appointed term elapsed & the god did not make his appearance. At last the news was spread, that Irabattaraya was in Satyamangalam, a town at the bottom of the mountains, performing the same wonders, as Mr. Metz was in the habit of relating of Jesus Christ. Multitudes of sick people, dressed in white, descended the mountain, but came back uncured & disappointed; and after a few weeks the god had disappeared. The impostor appears to have been a Mohammedan juggler. But the people were not yet satisfied. An embassy consisting of 20 men was dispatched on a 5 days' journey into Mysore to ask the old god of the Badagas when he would come up? This frenzy has now passed away. . . .(B.E.M.S., 1865, no. 26, 70-71).

The cult, which flared up briefly in 1865, contains features of both the Christian and Hindu religions. In this regard it is worth

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Hindu Badaga community continued to exist as a distinct, mainly endogamous group, with its own characteristic language and culture, and beside it there emerged a Christian community. What had happened to relieve the tensions that we have documented? Several features of the changing social condition can be mentioned here as a partial answer.

Accommodation of the Christian Community

After the final outburst of protest in 1904 the Hindus were no longer openly antagonistic to every new conversion (B.E.M.S., 1904, no. 65, 68–69). The community of Christian Badagas was by then so large, so influential with the Europeans, so well schooled and thus so powerful that it could no longer be threatened and attacked with impunity. The Badaga Christians came to be regarded as a caste, separate and inferior to the Badaga Hindus. Having thus been assigned a position in the social organization of the Nilgiris the Christians no longer posed such a serious question about the continuance of Badaga society. After the expulsion of German missionaries in 1914, the Basel Mission on the Nilgiris passed into the hands of the less evangelistic Wesleyan Mission. A stable family and economy were so encouraged among the Christians that they became something of a reference model for the remainder of the Badaga community in these respects. The first schoolteachers, the first government clerks, the first college graduates, the first factory workers and even the first published writers among the Badagas were Christian.

Major Factions Became Permanent

Like the division between Christians and Hindus, and another between Lingayats approving of marriages with Kanarese girls and those opposed to it, the factional division between Ha:ruvas and those who did not acknowledge their claims to Brahminic status became a persistent feature of Badaga social organization. Even today every lineage belongs to one or the other of these factions. We might wonder whether the rapid increase in the Badaga population over the past century has led to a growing awareness of impersonality in the community, which this and later factional splits have counteracted by 'dismissing' large sectors of

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the society as unfit for interaction. If the population of the undivided Badaga community in 1871 was just under twenty thousand, then there has scarcely been any growth in *scale* when we consider that today this would still be about the order of people with whom a Badaga could potentially interact *within* one of the several factions which divide the current community of over a hundred thousand (cf. Appendix 2, p. 249).

Health Improvements and Economic Growth

The hazards of famine and epidemic disease which confronted Badagas in the nineteenth century have posed less of a problem in the twentieth. The young generation has never known starvation. Standards of health have much improved and public health facilities, especially mass inoculations, have decimated the earlier scourges. Even the modern practice of piping water into the villages has caused a vast improvement in health (Grigg, 1880, 185, n. 2; Hockings, 1979b, 10–15).

The development of a mixed cash-crop farming economy and slight industrialization from the time of the First World War have been crucial factors in the improvement of Badaga living conditions. While there are still many families that are landless or very poor, the opportunities for earning cash are so much wider than they were a century ago that general famine is not a severe or recurrent threat any more.

Education, too, has broadened the Badagas' view of society and is now very popular with them. As early as 1887 it was noted that they had themselves built six schools out of village funds.[20]

The community thus managed to overcome the social and economic difficulties which, if not ameliorated, have often triggered some kind of revitalization movement.[21] There was no successful revitalization among the Badagas even though several small and localized cults showed some potential. Instead the people were able to survive their period of frustration, accept the existence of a separate Christian community and shift from subsistence to a cash-crop economy that allowed them to improve their standard of living significantly even though the ratio of people to farm-land was rapidly increasing. Thus we can say that while the society is in no sense static today it has managed to

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12. B.E.M.S., 1865, no. 26, 70-71; Stokes, 1882, 174; Sawday, 1884, 12-13; Francis, 1908, 130; Tignous, 1911, 116. To meet the cost four rupees were levied from each household. Prior to this time Badaga temples had been round thatched structures; compare Breeks, 1873, pl. LXXV, and B.E.M.S., 1904, no. 65, 68, plate.

13. There are many comparable anecdotes in the presbytery minutes and the various mission periodicals.

14. Schad, 1908, 134; Butterworth, 1923, 208. Since fresh skeletons were supposedly collected each Christmas, Badagas would only walk around in groups after dusk during November and December, for fear of European headhunters.

15. Breeks, 1873, 65; Grigg, 1880, 299, 411; Stokes, 1883, *passim*; Francis, 1908, 155; Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 86; Tignous, 1911, 155; Belli Gowder, 1923-1941, 50. I have been told of a much more recent instance (not well substantiated, however) in which Badagas burnt down a Kurumba hamlet near Mañjakombe because of the excessive demands for food that a Kurumba watchman had been making.

16. *kāći*, or in one dialect *kaci*; see Burrow & Emeneau, 1961, 79 for cognates.

17. Wieland, 1900, 86. The Maṇihaṭṭi priests thought themselves superior as their service was done inside the temple while the Taṅga:ḍu priests remained in the outer precincts. The Taṅga:ḍu Ha:ruvas, who by then included several contractors and were distinctly wealthier than Maṇihaṭṭi people, held that fire-walkers should proceed in order of seniority; and in 1897 the senior-most candidate was an old man from Taṅga:ḍu. After that the festival was celebrated by the two villages on alternate years; see Francis, 1908, 340, and Jogi Gowder, no date, 3-5. In a few years the rift had widened, apparently over a marriage quarrel. A Ha:ruva from Maṇihaṭṭi had asked for the sister's daughter of a Gauda headman. The latter arranged her divorce, and she married the Ha:ruva. He, however had, agreed to pay six rupees worth of finger millet for the divorce but never did, precipitating a long court case and a rift between Ha:ruvas and Gaudas. About 1940 the Gaudas of Me:lu:ru successfully wrested the fire-walking ceremony from the now reunited Ha:ruvas of Maṇihaṭṭi, Taṅga:ḍu and two other villages, causing the latter to celebrate the festival on alternating years at two of their villages, but never more at Me:lu:ru. In effect these Gaudas refuse to acknowledge the ritual superiority of the Ha:ruvas with whom they used to intermarry, and also have won themselves legal recognition as owners of a temple which had previously employed Ha:ruva priests.

18. The London Missionary Society maintained a catechist there in the late nineteenth century, yet by 1891 there were only twenty-eight Christians in a population of 3574; Nicholson, 1898, 424-425.

19. The process of revitalization, though of concern to Max Weber (1946, 1947), was first clarified and labelled by Wallace, 1956, *passim*, and 1966, 158-163; compare Fuchs, 1965, 1-20.

20. Anonymous, 1887, 122. 'The increasing prosperity of the Badagas is unquestionably inclining them to seek instruction for their children'; Grigg, 1880, 426.

21. Fuchs, 1965, 1. He presents many examples of such movements from all over India.

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796 the houses. On that occasion some Badagas also do *pu:ja* to bring blessings upon agricultural implements and even school books.

177 788 Ka:rttige is followed by the month of Ma:rgaźi (December-January), the most inauspicious month of the Dravidian calendar. Some Badagas have now adopted the Tamilian practice of daily *pu:ja* throughout the month. Early each morning a group of men goes along every village street singing *bajan* songs about Shiva and Vishnu. Before this daily tour the women clean the houses, put auspicious markings on the ground outside their doorways and leave the doors open with a lamp burning inside until the *bajan* group has passed by. The many villages which have adopted this ritual conclude the unlucky month with a big communal feast.

177 796 184 In short, we find that there is some local variation in the form taken by the borrowed memorial ceremonies and festivals. They are not celebrated by all Badagas and those who do so show less enthusiasm for them than for native Badaga festivals. Furthermore, Badagas are much less enthusiastic about them than are the Tamilians and Kanarese now living in the Nilgiris.

GROWTH OF LINGAYAT TIES WITH MYSORE

177 795 771 Before the twentieth century those Badagas who were Lingayats were mostly illiterate and knew little about their religion as it was practised in the Mysore homeland. Perhaps once or twice a year a Lingayat *guru* would wander up into the Nilgiris from nearby Aṅgala or Nanjangud, selling *liṅgas* and performing family ceremonies (Harkness, 1832, 137); whatever he taught about the Lingayat faith would have been transmitted by word of mouth. In this century, in contrast, Badaga Lingayats are literate, and some (484) (494) are avid readers of books on Lingayat philosophy. Cheap bus transport has also enabled them to visit the Nanjangud temple and other places of pilgrimage easily and so to meet well-informed monks and priests in the towns of Mysore State.

177 One significant fruit of this increased contact has been a number of marriages between Badaga Lingayat men and Kanarese Lingayat girls; even a few of the conservative Wodeas have taken this step. However, the move for marital ties with Mysore has not found ready acceptance among most Badaga Lingayats, even though Kanarese brides usually bring a substantial dowry with (578) them. For several decades this matter has been the subject

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of a bitter factional dispute within the Lingayat segment of the community. Many Badagas argue that as people from even the lowest castes could be converted to Virashaivism (though they seldom are) there is a danger that the girls brought from Mysore are really descendants of Untouchables converted to the faith. For upwardly mobile Badagas that is no easy pill to swallow.

CHANGING PATTERNS OF MARRIAGE AND RESIDENCE

Since 1890 small minorities in nearly all phratries have contracted marriages beyond the boundaries of the community. A few Wodeas, Kanakkas and Adikiris have arranged marriages with Lingayat girls from Mysore, generally from Mysore City itself. The Be:das and Kumba:ras have sought brides from the Be:da and Kumba:ra castes of the plains, too. With improved transportation and literacy such marriages have become possible; and the Lingayat cases reflect a move towards closer ties with orthodox Lingayatism.

Since 1950 there have been occasional marriages between a Gauda boy and a Badaga Christian girl, provided that the girl's ancestry traced back to a clan other than the boy's. Such unions, which would earlier have been unthinkable, now occur among the more progressive who have had a college education.

These shifting patterns of alliance have altered the phratry system but little, though changing criteria in marriage arrangements have had a profound impact. The appearance of dowry-like transactions in a society which previously expected only a type of bridewealth is the most portentous of a whole complex of changing criteria. Before the wedding the boy's family always pays the *honnu* to the girl's family; *honnu* thus has the appearance of a bride-price, but this is not a good English translation of the term. It is money to be spent on the gold ornaments that bedeck the bride when she leaves her home to join her husband and without which the marriage would not be performed. By providing the cost of the ornaments the groom's family ensures that the ceremony will proceed. If a divorce later occurs the wife must return the ornaments or their cost, together with any other gifts of clothing or jewellery that her husband may have made (Harkness, 1832, 116 117; Metz, 1864, 86 87; Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 105–106; Tignous, 1911, 119). With rising gold prices the *honnu* has also increased steadily. Early in the last century it was generally '15 to

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20 rupees' (Ward, 1821, lxxi); and then 'on an average between twenty and twenty-five rupees' (Harkness, 1832, 42); by 1867 it was Rs. 80;[2] early in this century it was about Rs. 100;[3] in the 1930s and 1940s it was more often Rs. 150 (Ranga, 1934, 3); today it is usually about Rs. 200 (Moses, 1964, 4) but may go as high as Rs. 500 among the wealthy or as low as Rs. 50 in a poor village.

Though *honnu* is still paid, a gift from the girl's family has become common in recent marriages. Some older men, especially those with marriageable daughters, attribute the expectation of such a present to the avarice of modern youth, but the general reason for the development is that young men show much greater variation both in their family's wealth and in their own potentiality to earn than was true of earlier generations. Previously the most affluent and prestigeful families were the gentry, and gentry boys normally married only the daughters of the gentry. Today a wealthy Badaga, whether of the gentry or not, may sometimes be willing to offer thousands of rupees if his daughter can marry into another affluent family. Such a gift is not a dowry, for it is not agreed to as a condition of marriage and is not handed over with any ceremony. It is, however, deemed appropriate when a boy's family has benefitted him with the prestigeful expense of a university education, which promises secure support and enhanced status for the girl. Several hundred Badaga men have now (1975) earned college degrees whereas few girls have. The preponderant choice of groom is thus between secondary-educated and tertiary-educated men, and one method of ensuring the girl's marriage with a college graduate is the payment of what one elder described as a 'bribe'. While not an old Badaga custom it is now becoming somewhat fashionable.[4]

The traditional preference is for marriage with a cross-cousin, whom a youth commonly finds in the same village into which his sister has married. This is still the normal choice: either he marries his sister's husband's sister (a cross-cousin) or else a related neighbour of that husband. The intrusion of a demand for a substantial present into this reciprocal exchange between two clans and two villages can be an unpleasant shift away from custom: two families, lineages or villages which have exchanged several daughters in marriage have established an alliance that proclaims their social equality. If one side seeks a financial settlement it may rupture this stability, as such a gift will imply social inequality between the contracting parties. Offering a financial inducement

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for a progressive, educated groom is like purchasing security for one's daughter.

No longer are the wealthiest families members of the gentry. The latter have recently been supplanted by *parvenus* with the ability to wield more influence and political power. These *nouveaux riches*, contractors, businessmen, dealers in illicit liquor[5] and plantation owners, have wherever possible reinvested their earnings in tea or coffee estates and private bus lines. Occasionally, too, this new-found capital has been invested in Badaga-owned businesses in the towns. Another popular type of investment is in sending sons to college, which can bring prestige to a family in a short space of time. Men who obtain degrees in law or medicine are assured a high social position in the Nilgiris, where they usually practise, but those who manage only a B.A. or B.Sc. find it brings some prestige but rarely a well-paying job. Nevertheless, upwardly mobile families wish their sons to take a bachelor's degree and then to settle down in their home villages and farm the land.

Among those wealthy enough to expect or to pay a substantial gift at marriage, fulfilment of their traditional roles in the society can become a problem-laden, anachronistic burden. Such men may command annual incomes a hundred times greater than the average for other men in their home village. As a consequence of this newly apparent inequality the wealthy are constantly plagued by importunate villagers and distant relations, as well as Toda and Kota friends, who try to activate traditional bonds of kinship or friendship so as to grasp their share in the power and influence of the *nouveaux riches*. It is therefore not surprising that the wealthiest Badagas have tended to leave their natal villages and build themselves comfortable houses in a town or in the middle of their tea estates. As the wealth of these families grows and as the possibility of their upward mobility, as modern Indian families rather than Badaga villagers, becomes a reality, their attitudes towards the traditional society and its marriage regulations change. No longer are the requirements of their old culture so demanding or so relevant, for these people are now oriented towards a larger South Indian society whose aims and ideals are for them represented in the morality and the cultural paraphernalia of modern romantic Indian films.

THE NEW FACTIONS

By the end of the nineteenth century there may have been several

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intra-commune or intra-village factional disputes of which no record exists; small inter-family feuds were undoubtedly common; but there were only two factional divisions of Nilgiri-wide scope, one separating Hindus from Christians, and one disputing the relative superiority of Wodeas and Ha:ruvas (see above, pp. 203–204). During the twentieth century these divisions have remained and others have developed alongside them.

The Wodea/Ha:ruva dispute was intensified by another conflict in 1930 which quickly assumed Nilgiri-wide proportions (Benbow, 1930, 11, 13). It concerned the question of whether it was dignified to dance around a corpse to Kota music during a Badaga funeral (see Plate 8; Mandelbaum, 1960, 302–303). Those who supported the Ha:ruva claim to superiority wanted to continue the use of Kota music; those opposed to the Ha:ruva faction and to the use of Ha:ruva priests were equally opposed to this music. The latter, who formed the majority faction, felt that such music was an indignity to both mourners and Kotas, and that dancing was an indignity to the dead since it was an expression of joy and therefore inappropriate, un-Hindu, and 'uncivilized' in this context. Those who wanted to continue the dancing, a conservative minority, stressed that it had been an integral and time-honoured element in Badaga culture and that to discontinue it would be to dishonour and even jeopardize the deceased with an incomplete funeral. The new-found opposition to what had always been an essential part of mortuary ritual arose indirectly from contact with Tamilian culture and a consequent shift in Badaga cultural orientations, and found its leaders in the first Badaga M.L.C. and his father. Today most Badagas no longer invite Kotas to play either at funerals or at weddings and festivals, and most of their economic connections have also been severed in an attempt to increase the social distance between themselves and their more backward and polluting Kota neighbours (Emeneau, 1938, 104–105; Mandelbaum, 1960, 302–303). In dropping the practice of dancing at funerals while adopting anniversary ceremonies for the dead and such festivals as Ma:rgaźi, Ka:rttige and Di:pa:vali, many Badagas are now striving for upward mobility by taking the model and assuming the conduct of orthodox Shaivite Hindus. The younger Kotas meanwhile show no interest in playing funeral music or otherwise underpinning the old Badaga culture. They, too, have their handful of graduates and well-to-do families who are looking for a better style of life than that they used to know.

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Another factional dispute that lasted for nearly a quarter-century prior to Indian Independence was a political one: political behaviour during that time took the form of a factional division. Many villages were not at all concerned with political matters, but the more informed ones—with higher literacy and closer links to the towns or missions—tended to be aligned either with the Indian National Congress and the Independence movement or with the Justice Party and a reliance on the British administration of India. The most aggressive phase in this factional history, when most villages became involved, was from Gandhi's salt *satyagraha* in 1930 up to the outbreak of war in 1939. The two factions would not eat together or talk to each other, would sometimes maintain different headmen and celebrate separate festivals, forbade intermarriage across the cleavage, and occasionally gave vent to outbreaks of violent fighting.

Just as the dispute over use of Kota music reinforced an existing factional division over the status of Ha:ruvas, so this political dispute became yet another facet of the same old quarrel: those who supported the Ha:ruva claim also supported the Indian National Congress. The reason for this is quite clear: in Madras Presidency the Justice Party was an anti-Brahmin party; its support depended largely on opposition to the apparent preponderance of Brahmins in the Congress and to the ease with which the Brahmin minority was getting the lion's share of government employment, to the envy of many non-Brahmins.[6] In the Nilgiris the dispute over Ha:ruva superiority was thus able to assume a political colouring, those opposed to Brahmins in general and *ipso facto* to the Ha:ruvas' claim being in support of the Justice Party.

Before the Kota music factions and this political division arose, a factional feud had split the Lingayats but did not involve other Badagas at all. It was triggered by intermarriage with Kanarese Lingayat girls, the first case of which occurred in an Adikiri family around 1890. Those who favoured marriage with Mysorean girls felt that it might raise their status to have connexions with the City of Mysore and its *Umland*, particularly as this was an area with many monasteries and an orthodox interpretation of Virashaivism, where the Badaga bridegrooms would receive the blessing *(ubadeś)* of a high-status *guru*; a dowry could also be asked of a Mysorean family. Most of these Badagas knew that the Lord Basava himself had taught that all men and women are equal, that caste distinctions and endogamy are social evils and not

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578 795 divine prescripts. Badaga Lingayats who have opposed these marriages since about 1925 contend that because Lingayat philosophy countenances conversion from any caste the girls' families might originally have been in low or even polluting castes; yet once converted there is no means of checking their ancestry. Although these marriages are rare occurrences, the factional split they engendered has been marked by more violence than most: its culmination came one day in 1944 when a thousand or more Lingayat men waged battle with sticks and rocks until restrained by the police. For many years the two groups had not intermarried or dined together and had litigated against each other; after this fight the temples in the feuding village were sealed and festivals were only permitted under police surveillance, separate times being allotted for each side to use the temples. For over a decade this village maintained such a heated division that each faction had its own headman and council. The entire dispute was resolved around 1959, and members of the two factions now dine together and support a single headman and council.[7]

121 A factional dispute over unconventional marriages, which only concerns Lingayats, or a dispute over political affiliations, which concerns primarily the more well-informed villages, are two examples of a faction type that is neither community-wide nor confined to a single village: it is an intermediate type concerning particular interest groups. The Christians are another interest group providing more recent examples.

578 877 In 1955 a Badaga Christian studying at Madras University wanted to join the Badaga Students' Association there; and shortly afterwards another Christian posed the same problem. Since this Association had always tacitly been a Hindu organization two factions emerged, one accepting Christian members, the other not. They celebrated their annual Day on separate occasions for as long as the Christian Badaga remained in the University.

578 794 Another case concerned Christians alone. Two decades ago a majority of the Badagas and some Tamilians in a Christian village decided it was disrespectful for the minister to wear shoes while conducting a church service: they apparently reasoned from the fact that it would be grossly improper for a Hindu priest to wear shoes in a temple. For some time the congregation was divided, and those opposed to shoes in church would neither wear them there nor attend the service of a minister who wore shoes. The dispute later subsided and the two sides now interdine and talk

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together. People wear shoes to church if they want to, while some ministers have judiciously refrained from doing so despite the cold stone floors.

In another Christian village an unusual three-way split developed between converts coming from the Gauda, Kumba:ra and Be:da phratries. Each claimed they were socially superior to the other two categories. In this village little intermarriage now occurs across the boundaries between ex-Gaudas, ex-Be:das and ex-Kumba:ras. They normally interdine but refuse to do so during holy festivals. They have no objection however to attending the same church service together. Somewhat similar retrospective factions appeared in the past between ex-Hindus and ex-Protestants in the Roman Catholic community of Badagas, and in the Protestant community, around 1918, between Wesleyans and ex-Basel Mission converts (Société des missions-étrangères, 1928, vol. VII, 573; Périé, 1933, 100).

We thus find that factional divisions are a deep-seated feature of Badaga social organization. Even when people are converted to Christianity or go off to a distant university cleavages still occur among them which are marked by a rigid pattern of antagonistic interaction. One is tempted to see in this an urge for a periodic reorganization of the society.

THE CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY

From the start of the century, the Christian community has been recognized by Badagas as a distinct caste inferior to Hindu Badagas but superior to Kotas, and rigid patterns of interaction have been formalized. During the period 1900–1947 the Hindus, like the Christians before them, became increasingly dependent on an economy and a labour market that ultimately was controlled by the British. As a result partly of this, partly of assigning the Christians to a separate caste status, the acts of violence towards Badaga Christians came to an end. As many Hindu Badagas now found it lucrative to maintain outwardly friendly attitudes towards the British they could not at the same time be openly hostile to the religion of the British.

After the Christians became a separate phratry (made up of twelve clans; see Diagram 7, p. 76), and the moment the German Lutheran missionaries were expelled from India in 1914, French

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this mechanism, for it is illuminating. The crucial factor here is the re-evaluation process, for conversations contributing to it take place separately for the different phratries and factions and for males and females. Children furthermore are intellectually equipped for only a very peripheral part in adult discussion. Over a period of years rather different adaptations to living conditions therefore tend to be worked out by each phratry or faction, by men and by women, by the successive generations This accounts for the most obvious subcultural variations within the community; and because children naturally grow into adults and replace the older generation in most roles, an on-going process of changing cultural adaptations is in evidence even though the model for thinking about social relations has remained remarkably stable for some generations.

NOTES

1. Benbow, 1930, 39-42. Other Tamilian festivals now celebrated by some Badagas are Pohgal, Ma:ri Habba, Rangana:tan car festival, and the birthdays of various gods; Stokes, 1882, 173.
2. B.E.M.S., 1867, no. 28, 70. It did range as high as Rs. 150 or 200; see Metz, 1864, 99, and Grigg, 1880, 222.
3. But 'varying from Rs. 10 to Rs. 200 . . .'; Natesa Sastri, 1892, 763; compare Tignous, 1911, 119, and Vivekanandam Pillai, 1937, 250.
4. Dowry may once have been a Badaga custom; Harkness, 1832, 41-42; Metz, 1864, 87. Even today Badagas should give their daughters upon marriage a present *(ado:li)* of at least one milking buffalo, one cow and one trained ploughing ox. If she is later divorced the gift is returned to her father.
5. The official claims that 'The vigilant working of the Prohibition department has made Prohibition a success in this district,' is farcical and is belied by lawcourt statistics; Madras, 1965, 23. It has merely provided a further concern for a burgeoning bureaucracy and another cottage industry for the landless. Most villages had at least one still in full-time production during the 1960s.
6. The great majority of people in the Presidency were not Brahmins and looked upon them as incursors from the north; yet 'In Madras the civil service and the professions were dominated almost completely by Brahmins . . .'; Béteille, 1969, 35, also 50-52, 164-168, 173-179.
7. Another village had three headmen recently when its anti-music faction divided into two groups over another matter; these two and the music faction each had a headman.
8. Tignous, 1911, 156; Illustrated Catholic Missions, 1916, vol. II, 8; Périé, 1933, *passim*. There had been some earlier Catholic conversions, the first in 1873 when Father J.M.J. Pottier had baptised a dying Badaga man in a village near Wellington. During the period 1892-1916 about a dozen families had been baptised by Fathers E.J.B. Foubert, M.-L. Robin, F.-F. Deniau, and J.-T. Gudin. Thereafter the pace of conversion increased.

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302 hair to fall out. Some young girls use razors instead of this. The traditional method, still followed by some old women, is to rub wood ash into the pubes for one or two minutes and then pull each hair out separately. There was a wild plant that was dried for a few years, then burnt; and its ashes caused the hair to fall out as they [751] were rubbed onto the body. The reason for removing the hair is that it can harbour ticks.

Before contact with the British, Badaga men shaved with the help of knives made by the Kotas. A potful of water served as a mirror. Later they began to shave themselves with broken bottle glass; and now razors can be bought in the bazaar. There are no professional [305] barbers among the Badagas; but friends do sometimes shave each other. Poor men might shave rich men (but not *vice versa*), for which [735] service they would receive some grain. A great indignity for the very poorest was to shave the pubes of other men for remuneration. [578] Even today one may hear a person being abused with the words, "What can you do? You can't even shave my pubes!" Men regularly remove this hair for the same reason that women do.

[178] Today Badaga men patronize barbers in the towns, but among [305] elders one may still occasionally see the traditional haircut. The hair on top of the head should grow long, and this lock is then tied in a bun (*kotti*) at the back of the head. The sides are cropped short. A moustache gives dignity, and should only be shaved off for the funeral of a very close relative. Priests and headmen should not shave at all. Other matters of hygiene are discussed in the following chapter.

Clothing and Adornment[3]

291 2.14. It is generally said that before they left Mysore the Badaga 178 women wore *sa:ris* — several meters of cloth draped around the body — and men wore *do:tis* — shorter lengths wrapped around them as loincloths. These at least are the traditional clothes of men and women in the Indian plains, now worn with such extras as blouses, shirts, underwear and shoes. But only in the twentieth century have the Badagas reverted to this plainsman style of dress, and that in combination with certain European influences too.

173 According to legend the later settlers fled to the Hills in the seven-
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[3]Sections 2.14-2.17 are adapted from my longer article, "Badaga Apparel: Protection and Symbol," in *The Fabrics of Culture* (ed. Justine M. Cordwell and Ronald A. Schwarz), pp. 143-174. See bibliography for details.

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
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1933: 74). They now keep rags on a special shelf in the house for the same purpose: the men, knowing what the rags are intended for, never place anything else on the same shelf. Today, with the menstrual hut rarely used, women simply sit on a pile of ash in a corner of the outer room for three days. If a menstruating woman sleeps there she cleans and changes her clothes and bedding every day. At the end of the period she puts her mattress outside to air, cleans the floor at the place where it lay, and sprinkles the area with liquid cowdung. The woman may even enter the inner, sacred room during the day; whereas a generation or two beforehand that action would have resulted in her being divorced and sent home to her father. The outraged husband would then have the entire house cleaned out and would perform the rituals appropriate for the completion of a new building.

Although older women think the menstrual hut was a good institution, in that it gave women six days of complete rest each month, there is a general recognition that the present custom is not altogether inconvenient, since a woman now has ready access to clean clothing, water, and some other household facilities. The fact that a woman may leave a characteristic odour in the house is seen as the main disadvantage today. Some families still observe a custom that prohibits a woman from drinking buttermilk or entering a cattleshed until the seventh day after menses. This indicates that the latter building is considered more sacred than the inner room of a house; (and indeed, in certain respects, a cattleshed could be used as a temple in earlier times).

3.14. Some other observations can be offered on the use women made of their time while in the menstrual hut. Each hamlet, and sometimes each cluster of hamlets, had only one such hut. This was the case even in hamlets that were riven by factions, for such disputes were mainly the concern of the men (as we shall see again when discussing who attends a woman's delivery). A woman may enter any convenient hut and if she were, for example, visiting her father's village she would use the menstrual hut there. A man may even send his wife away to another village for her period if there is a woman of ill repute currently staying in the hut in his own village. Married adolescent girls who had never been pregnant would usually return to their fathers' villages to use the hut. Such predilections were not the result of whim or differential cleanliness, but were reactions to the well-known fact that the hut was a key place for arranging

41 Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
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844 (853) generally those who have had several births themselves. Most women in a village want to go and watch a delivery; but it is said to be a sin for any woman watching to leave before the delivery is completed. This is recalled in the saying, "Delivery is like having escaped death," which means that the pain borne by a woman is nearly as much as at death. In the same way, one should never pass a woman in advanced pregnancy, in case she is in labour and (843) needs help. If too many come to the delivery one old woman selects who should stay to help and asks the rest to leave. Those who remain give encouragement to the expectant mother by saying, "Be brave, there won't be any pain." Badagas expect the woman not to cry out; but she will if the pain is too much. "The man who has seen a tiger hunt is scared like a woman just before delivery," runs the proverb, probably in reference to a woman's first delivery.

Usually some eight or ten women attend at a birth, although no more than one of them is likely to be recognized as the midwife. Though it is not compulsory for them to be present they nevertheless come, mainly out of genuine concern for the girl's predicament but also partly because they expect their friends to render similar service when necessary for themselves or their daughters. It is clear 844 that enmity among Badaga families does not particularly concern 578 the women, because even if a family is not on speaking terms with that of the pregnant girl, a woman from the "enemy" family will still attend at the birth; or if that is not possible will come to her father's house afterwards to enquire after her—as indeed would a male of this "enemy" household. Such an "enemy" neighbour woman will not eat food provided by the girl's father while she attends at the birth, but she may well accept food provided by the girl's husband and take it home to eat. The thinking behind (858) this pattern of behaviour is that the girl—at least when she was an unmarried child living in her father's house—was common to the whole village. Badaga children are always viewed in this light, rather than as exclusively members of particular families.

844 Male relatives of the woman wait outside on the veranda or the street, and if there are difficulties they will offer advice or fetch other women to help. Generally the husband of the woman is (846) amongst these men. There is nothing in particular that he should be doing; and Badagas have never practised the *couvade*. It is her husband who must meet all expenses associated with the birth, even though it occurs in the home of the woman's father. Clarified

582 between the bride and her husband's mother, who is of course her father's sister
(581) (Benbow 1928: 20). Badagas expect that a bride who is father's sister's daughter
to her husband will be more timid and easier to control than one who is the
(578) mother's brother's daughter. At the root of this preference lies a conflict of
roles: there is a very real problem for a Badaga if his wife's father is also his
own mother's brother, since these are two very different roles. One entails giving
his daughter to a young man, and receiving a sum of money "in return"; the other
entails acting as the young man's spiritual guide. Most Badagas feel that there is
a certain ambiguity involved if a single individual, vis-à-vis his sister's son, has
both of these roles at once. It is quite common for Badagas to marry more distant
relatives who are only "mother's brother's daughter" or "father's sister's daughter"
in a classificatory sense, however, in which case the ambiguous situation we have
described and the conflict that it might generate can both be avoided.

The Phratries

615 The most deep-seated -- and certainly the oldest -- divisions in the
Badaga community are those between the phratries. Each phratry is said to have
614 a distinct historical origin, and remains a distinguishable social entity today for
purposes of arranging marriages and celebrating certain rituals. The sibs per-
(621) haps come closer than the phratries to being corporate groups in most cases: each
hamlet is typically the home of members of one sib only. In the few cases where
121 families from another sib are also present, they are recognized as being fairly
recent immigrants, and their "native" hamlet is known to all. In view of the cen-
tral importance of the sib structure to an understanding of Badaga social organiza-
128 tion, we will now present in some detail an account of the features which distinguish
each phratry and its constituent sibs. These will be treated in the order that many

554 any wealthy man should be believed before some ordinary man, a Badaga should
695 be believed before a non-Badaga (other factors being relatively equal), a small
(562) boy should be believed before an adult, but an old man should be believed before
(565) a younger one. Until about 1940 utterances from ghosts or gods (spoken through
(609) possessed mediums) were treated as reliable evidence, more reliable indeed than
(561) anything men might say.

593 Badagas are familiar with the phenomenon of in-group solidarity, as it regularly finds graphic illustration in the hearing of village disputes. A man is so dependent upon the support of his family in a dispute, as well as in his daily ritual observances, that it is normally assumed -- unless he is disputing with his (425) own brother -- that he will not lie to his family about anything. So if Kadan, for example, is engaged in a dispute with Rangan over the shifting of a field boundary, Kadan can expect his family's support in the matter even though they all know that his evidence is a complete fabrication; indeed the whole family stands to gain if 613 Kadan wins the case, provided the family estate remains undivided until then. If Rangan is from another lineage than Kadan (and the dispute is sufficiently important, we might add), each man may win the active support of his entire lineage.
571 Similarly in a dispute between two men of different hamlets, each man's hamlet
621 will typically support him in the dispute even though his claim is known to be false. At the level of inter-village disputes the support from an entire hamlet may be forthcoming only because everybody feels the reputation of his own hamlet is at
•518 stake: few would look for material gains in the situation. The fixing of village
(657) boundaries by the Revenue Board during the 1880's obviated the possibility of an inter-village dispute over field boundaries; but important conflicts can still arise over marriage and divorce, inheritance, debt and interest, theft, and a variety of

578 [657] insults and personal grievances. As we shall see, the fact that in-group solidarity is so strongly manifested in disputes ostensibly between two individuals is a common psychological basis for the growth of Badaga factional divisions, which typically evolve out of family feuds.

554 631 [621] [565] Historically and to some extent socially the hamlet can be seen as an extension of its gentry, its founding family: Tuneri, for example, is said to be an important village because its headman is the most important of all Nilgiri headmen. This is an understandable position, for every resident of Tuneri is potentially more influential than people living in a hamlet with a relatively inferior headman. But Tuneri is also an unusually large village, and this fact gives it added prestige. In the same way that a family of the gentry used to increase in prestige by increasing its numbers, a hamlet can do likewise by an increase in population. This is simply because, in the traditional setting, the headman would receive more money gifts at the weddings of girls from his village, more income from fining his villagers, and the chance of a substantial "rake-off" when he collected grain to give to the Todas and Kurumbas at each harvest. This attitude finds clear expression in a Badaga saying: "If the number of his subjects increases, the headman of the village will become a big man."

631 661 662 During the last century, before Badagas had started to use the British court system (there was only one magistrate's court in the Nilgiris), they were entirely dependent on their own headmen for favorable treatment in the hearing of disputes. In those days, whenever a headman visited another village, he could expect much more generous hospitality than he would receive today, since it might prove necessary later to look to him for support in a case. The hospitable treatment typically consisted of a big feast, to which was often added a night with whichever of the village girls he chose. Feasting, girls, cloth and money might also be

621 recent Catholic hamlets, where discipline is maintained by the priest himself.
(193) There is one hamlet, long the scene of bitter disputes because of its mixed com-
(194) position, where now the Gaudas, Adikaris and Christians all sit together in the
(518) traditional village council. In 1913 such cooperation was not possible.
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The Factions

121 There is no published evidence of any kind of factional division among the Badagas until the late 1850's. The challenging question that this fact poses must therefore remain unanswered: Was the emergence of factional disputes a reaction to the stresses of crossing the threshold into the modern world, a world which introduced the Badagas to a cash economy with international markets, a code of law under which they were supposedly on an equal footing with everyone else, opportunities for schooling and literacy, obligations to pay taxes and obey strange foreign officials? Or was the periodic factional restructuring of the community an integral part of Badaga life, something which has occurred for as long as Badagas have existed? We do not know.

121 518 There are two different types, or rather different scales, of factions, but both are designated by the same word (khaṕṕi, or in one dialect khaʔṕi; cf. Burrow & Emeneau 1961: 79 for cognates). First, there are what might be called "personal" factions or feuds, which stem from differences of opinion in a single hamlet about a villager's personal grievance. The second kind of faction embraces virtually all Badaga hamlets, each of them taking one side or the other in some dispute of general concern to everybody. Descriptions of Badaga reaction to the earliest religious conversions suggest that this type of faction grows out of what is initially a dispute confined to a single hamlet (cf. Basel Mission 1889: 67-68; Anonymous 1894: 547-551; Eppler 1900: 153-155).

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From these 19th Century descriptions several accounts might be culled of the process by which factional behavior starts. A much more recent illustration of faction-formation is preferable, however, because of the subjectivity in the early missionary writings. The case I have chosen is my summary of the informant's account (and, as in my other quotations from field-notes, the name used is fictitious).

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"Early in 1963, when one hamlet was planning to stage a funeral, the headman asked every household to donate three meals for the visitors expected. One man, Raman, was requested to prepare four meals, either through mistake or for some unknown reason; and he did as asked, but only to find that nobody came to his house to eat them. Why this should be is not clear: apparently Raman was not a very pleasant person to get along with. He complained that the cost of the meals should be refunded to him from the general village funds, but the headman decided to do nothing about it. From this situation two factions arose which divided the entire hamlet into two separate communities.

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"At first only three households closely related to him supported Raman; but then, after another funeral had occurred in the hamlet, the other people there who were related to those three households, because they were all in the same lineage, found themselves drawn into Raman's faction. At this point the hamlet council, led by the headman, forbad any women to help members of Raman's faction by such duties as working in their fields. Because of this proscription there were a number of women who found themselves forced into joining Raman's faction: they perhaps had no strong feelings about the actual dispute, but they were too poor to forego the Rs. 1½ they were earning as daily laborers in the fields of those people.

"Thus within a few weeks from the start of the grievance typical factional

578 behavior was characterizing interaction in this hamlet: no one was supposed to
621 talk to members of the opposite faction, or to visit their houses and eat with them. (In effect, what had been a single hamlet now took on the organization of two non-communicating but interdigitated villages.) Within two months from the initial funeral there was a complete break-down in hamlet cooperation at the celebration of festivals: each faction celebrated its own, separately from the other. Yet some ten weeks after the dispute had begun, there was already evidence that the factional structure of the social organization was falling apart. The people could no longer maintain a rigid separation between the two factions. Members of one faction were coming around to the back doors of friends in the opposite faction for supposedly secret visits. But everybody knew what was really going on: it was already acceptable behavior to talk to members of the other faction on the street, so long as no interdining occurred.

578 "People in Raman's hamlet recognize that the factional organization is
602 disappearing slowly as the weeks pass. This trend is spear-headed by women from
621 other hamlets who have married into this one. In a number of instances there are pairs of sisters from another hamlet who have married men of opposite factions in this hamlet. Where that is the case, the sisters will feel seriously inconvenienced in being separated by a dispute which does not really concern them; and they will take every opportunity to meet secretly and interact with each other across the cleavage which currently separates their husbands. Nobody in the hamlet really expects the factions to become separated further: these kinship ties will slowly but surely bring the two sides together."

578 By comparison with such frequent and short-term factional disputes as this example, the all-Nilgiri factions are few but long-lived. Altogether only a half-

dozen of these are known, two of them antedating this century. These two will be discussed here; the others will be considered later when we examine recent social changes among the Badagas.

Apparently the first major faction, and certainly the most important if judged by its effects, was that engendered by the activities of Christian missionaries during the last century. From 1846, or possibly even earlier, a few missionaries had worked among the Badagas and Todas (Stokes 1882: 175). In 1857 Abraham Nerkamby became the first Badaga Christian (Eppler 1900: 153); and although this and all subsequent conversions until about 1904 were the objects of bitter resentment on the part of nearly all Badagas, the Badaga Christian community slowly swelled, and by 1904 ceased to be treated as a recalcitrant faction (Basel Mission 1889: 67-68; Anonymous 1894: 547-51). It instead became, in the eyes of other Badagas, a separate caste or community not to be considered as Badaga at all. Until that time, however, Christians received the usual treatment of an opposed faction: no intermarriage or interdining, little or no conversation, and occasional outbursts of violence or robbery (Eppler 1900: passim). The following case, one of many that have been recorded by the local missionaries, typifies the common situation.

> ... The two families of Titus and Beajamin, uncle and nephew, live together in a joint house at Chogatorre, some 30 or 40 paces behind the row of Badaga houses, and situated on their own land. [The two families are Badaga Christians.] Lakshma, a rich and influential inhabitant of the village... set himself to drive the two families away from their land and house. He began by seizing upon a piece of ground belonging to an orphan, a minor, and adjoining that of the Christians, and fenced it, so that the Christians were prevented from leaving their house, though for many years they had had the right of way on the edge of that property, and that right had been confirmed before witnesses before the father of the orphan before his death. As the Christians were thus prevented from coming to church and even from going to the nullah [creek] to fetch water, they were for a time in great distress... Nobody dared to assist them by bringing them water, not even at night for Lakshma had set a watch, and as most of the villagers were indebted to him, they were all afraid of him...

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... Though by the help of the native magistrate a way has been opened for the Christians by which they can get away from their houses now, they are still in trouble, especially about the water supply. The old mother of Titus, when fetching water one day, was thrown to the ground and illtreated by L's [Lakshma's] wife, and the children of the Christians were shot at, the ball however glanced from a rock and fell harmless in their midst. Only recently Lakshma sent a message to the Christians, threatening that within two months he would force them to leave their house and property. (Anonymous 1894: 550-51)

Behavior of this pattern characterizes the occasional outbursts of factional feeling in quite recent years, and is not restricted to disputes between Hindus and Christians.

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The second major dispute in Badaga history emerged during the last decades of the 19th Century and, like the conversions, is still the basis for a factional cleavage today. It concerned the claim of the Haruvas that they are superior in status to the Wodeyas and all other Badaga phratries. The Haruvas and those who support them -- preëminently the Gauda villages of Kunda division -- believe that the Haruvas were of the Brahmin varna before they left Mysore to settle in the Nilgiris. In support of this belief they cite the facts that they have always functioned as priests for the non-vegetarian Badagas, they are strictly vegetarians themselves, and they wear a thread across the shoulder. Opponents of the Haruva claim include the majority of all Badagas. They perhaps recognize that the Haruvas have no knowledge of Sanskrit or any other sacred literature -- since until this century they were all illiterate; furthermore, there is no ceremony for investiture of the "sacred" thread and no concept of being "twice-born". But the argument most generally used against the Haruvas' claim is that they are only priests in the Badaga temples because the various non-vegetarian phratries (preponderantly the Gaudas, of course) appointed them to act in this role; just as they appointed certain Toreyas, certain Kurumbas and certain Todas to act in special roles for the benefit of the entire village.

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Although it is the Wodeyas whom the Haruvas contest for ritual superiority, there has been no open clash between Haruvas and Wodeyas. This is not too surprising, since Wodeyas are Lingayats, while Haruvas are not; Wodeyas do not employ Haruva priests; Wodeyas do not intermarry with Haruvas at all; and so Wodeya/Haruva interaction has always been minimal. The main clash in this dispute has been between Haruvas and most Gaudas, who resent the Haruva claim. Only a minority of Gaudas support the Haruvas; the other Gauda hamlets, together with most Toreya, Kapakka, Adikari and Kaggusi hamlets, have not only denounced the Haruva claim but have long ago broken off their traditional relations with the Haruvas. The Haruva priests have been supplanted by non-Haruva members of the hamlet; marriages with Haruva men and women have ceased, and already married couples were sometimes divorced by the hamlet headmen; interdining with Haruvas was stopped; and occasionally fights would break out, particularly at festivals when the traditional Haruva priests tried to perform their ritual functions and members of the anti-Haruva faction tried to stop them.

The Haruva dispute has never been "solved". In the earlier decades of its history it was marked by the usual fights, lack of intermarriage or interdining between disputants, and even by resort to the British Indian legal system. Recently the dispute has cooled to the point where it only becomes relevant in the arrange-
(198) ment of marriages. This also seems to be the case with the conflict between Hindu and Christian Badagas.

121 In Chapter VII we shall return to the topic of factionalism, for it has been a pervasive element in the socio-cultural changes of the 20th Century.

159 is now up to Ranga to solve the problem."

695 The solution which Ranga chooses must be couched in the current ambi-

159 legal idiom. If he attempts a solution purely in the traditional idiom or purely in

692 the lawcourt idiom, without taking the alternate system and Jogi's possible manipulation of it into account, then Ranga's chances of ultimate success are slim.

177 The point which the case of Jogi and Ranga underlines is that the intro-

671 duction of British procedural law in the 19th Century did not simply offer the Bada-

692 gas an alternative approach for solving conflicts in their community. To any

829 Badaga the procedure in the lawcourt must have seemed capricious: it operated on the assumption that all individuals were equal before the law, and that the proceedings must work directly towards a just decision; whether a man was a Toreya or a member of the gentry was irrelevant to how he would be treated; his past history and his family's reputation were similarly not taken into consideration when

•578 the specific case came before the court. To Jogi and Ranga, therefore, as to many

691 of their Badaga contemporaries, the lawcourt *is* less of a mechanism for dispen-

692 sing justice than a possible means of revenge and a process for overcoming one's opponent (regardless of who is actually in the right). The use of a lawcourt can involve an opponent in crippling legal costs, or the threat of these costs may frighten him into compliance with what is required of him. The threat of going to a lawcourt after one's case has received unfavorable treatment at the hands of the village council can also be used to undermine the authority of the elders on

578 that council and cast aspersions upon the honor of the village. For over a cen-

691 tury the Badagas have had a saying that runs: "If you take a complaint to a Magistrate, it is as if you had put poison into your adversary's food" (Grigg 1880: 224). The belief is still voiced today; but in the interim Badagas have learned how to

place the poison effectively.

Changing Patterns of Marriage and Residence

The recent changes in the Nilgiris that we have described have left the phratry system of the Badagas relatively untouched. There have been several minor but interesting exceptions to this statement, however. During the present century a few Wodeyas, Kapakkas and Adikaris have arranged marriages with Lingayat girls from Mysore -- usually from Mysore City itself. Only with improved transportation and literacy have such marriages become possible; they reflect a move toward closer ties with orthodox Lingayatism in its Mysore home-land.

Since 1950 there have been occasional marriages between a Badaga Christian girl and a Gauda boy. Earlier in the century such unions would have been unthinkable; now they occur among "progressive" Badagas who have typically experienced a college education. The ancestry of the girl is still expected to trace back to the sib opposite to the boy's.

During the years since 1913 small minorities in nearly all of the Badaga phratries have contracted occasional marriages beyond the boundaries of the Badaga community. The important exception to this minority trend is the Toreya phratry. As we indicated earlier (pp. 67-68) some epidemic catastrophe early in this century produced a great imbalance in the size of the two Toreya sibs. One would expect the Toreyas, under these circumstances, to follow the lead set by other Badagas and arrange marriages with families in Mysore. The Toreyas, however, are relatively conservative, and have chosen to weather out their crisis by allowing men of the smaller sib to practice polygyny whenever they can afford it.

If changing patterns of alliance have altered Badaga social structure very

177 533 are Tamil, not Badagu. Very many of the Badaga hamlets have built a bhajan house specifically for use during evenings of devotion. Such houses are owned by the hamlet in common and are considered as temples. Inside the bhajan house will be a number of lithographic prints of Kriśna and other gods, and perhaps an image. During the course of a devotional evening, puja will be done to the image or to some of the lithographs. Not everyone in a hamlet is interested in the bhajan form of worship, however; but its popularity is clearly increasing, for it has its strongest following among the village youths. Once a year small donations are offered for the support of the bhajan group by every household in the hamlet where it is performed. An increasing interest in bhajans has been noted elsewhere in South India (cf. Singer 1959: 148-49).

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177 795 2) Lingayats, too, have developed their ties with the plains. Before this century they knew little about the Vīraśaiva religion in their Mysore home-land. Perhaps once a year a Lingayat guru would wander up into the Nilgiris from Nanjangud (so says Harkness 1832: 137); but whatever he might be able to teach about the Lingayat faith would have to be transmitted entirely by word of mouth. In the 20th Century, on the other hand, the Badaga Lingayats have become literate, and some of them read books on Lingayat philosophy quite avidly. Cheap transportation has also enabled them to make pilgrimages to some of the places that are sacred in Vīraśaiva belief, and to meet well-informed monks and Jangamas in the towns of Mysore State.

177 562 One significant fruit of this increased contact has been the occurrence of a number of marriages, during the present century, between Badaga Lingayat men and Kanarese Lingayat girls; even a few of the conservative Wodeyas have taken this step. The move for marital links with Mysore has not been met with equanimity by

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177 many Badaga Lingayats, however: indeed, this matter has been the subject of a
582 bitter factional dispute within the Lingayat part of the Badaga community for several
578 decades. Many Badagas feel that, as people from even the lowest castes can be converted to Vīraśaivism (though they seldom are), there is a danger that the girls from Mysore are really descendants of Untouchables converted to the faith. For Badagas this is no easy pill to swallow.

177 796 3) Many Tamilian and Kanarese celebrations are being adopted. An important effect of the greatly improved communications with the plains to the north and east has been the appearance in many Badaga hamlets of non-Badaga religious practices that have undoubtedly been borrowed during the present century.

769 (177) During the past 30 years, for example, a variety of memorial ceremonies have been instituted by Badagas for the anniversaries of deaths within the family; prior to this time there had been no such memorial ceremonies. Some families now do a puja in the house, before a photograph of the deceased. A few people have been buried -- or their ashes buried -- at places other than the village burial grounds, and stones have been erected to mark such spots: here the near relatives may perform an annual puja. Some families invite the more distant relatives to the annual ceremony; others do not do this, but distribute food to the poor. Some do the ceremony at daytime, others at night. Some will go straight to work after the puja is over, others will not work at all on that day. The scale and form of a memorial ceremony varies from family to family, it would seem.

177 796 It is not only new death ceremonies that have recently been introduced, however. Various annual festivals have been adopted, with varying degrees of enthusiasm and support, by many of the hamlets.

tour of the singers, the women clean out the houses, place auspicious markings outside the doorways, and leave the doors open with a lamp burning inside until the bhajan group has passed by. Many hamlets have adopted this practice. They conclude the unlucky month by holding a big communal feast attended by the entire hamlet.

In summary, whether we consider the organization of Kārtige, Mārgeti, Dipāvali or Dassara, we find that the borrowed festival is not celebrated by the entire Badaga population, there is some local variation in the way in which it is celebrated, those who do celebrate the festival still show much less enthusiasm for it than for native Badaga festivals; and finally, Badagas show much less enthusiasm for these festivals than do the Tamilians and Mysoreans now living in the Nilgiris.

4) Since 1913 important developments have occurred in the Badaga Christian community. From the earliest years of the present century, according to the missionary reports, the Christian community has been recognized by the Badagas as a distinct caste inferior to Hindu Badagas but superior to Kotas, and rigid patterns for interaction between the Christians and Hindus have been formalized. During the period 1913-1947 the Hindu Badagas, like the Christians before them, became increasingly dependent on the economy and the labor market which was ultimately controlled by the British. As a result of this the former acts of violence toward Badaga Christians ceased: as many Hindu Badagas now found it desirable to maintain outwardly friendly attitudes towards the British, they could not simultaneously be openly antagonistic toward the religion of the British.

After the Christians had become a separate social group, Roman Catholic priests became active -- mainly in converting Protestant Badagas -- and thereby split the Christians into two culturally very similar but structurally opposed groups, each maintaining a self-righteous and antagonistic attitude not only toward the other

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186 Christian group but also toward the Hindus (Périe 1932: 1-8).
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This situation continued with little change until after 1947, by which time the Catholics were almost as numerous as the Protestants. Independence brought new factors into play, however. Conversion of Hindus to either Christian sect virtually
178 ceased with national Independence, as did most conversion of Protestants to Catholi-
798 cism. While there are still some points of disagreement between members of the
(799) two churches (preëminently in ecclesiastical matters), as there are between Christians and Hindus, these are being obfuscated as other cultural orientations become more relevant to the changing conditions of life in the Nilgiris. There are now some
178 indications in casual conversation that the cultural orientations of the Badagas are
619 being adapted to a newly emerging pattern of social solidarity; one which links all
798 Badagas, whether Christian or Hindu, in the face of competition with all other Indians. Some Hindu Badagas, for example, were willing to tell me that "The Christians set us a good example"; by these words they were alluding to the standards of honesty, hard work, education, and "progressive" treatment of their women for
(651) which the Christians are noted (cf. Ranga 1934: 5-6). The Badaga community is now always called a "caste", and its members are more strongly aware of their identity as "Badagas", a community which the Government shows particular concern and beneficence for by treating as a "Backward Class". The chances of material benefit
178 through better employment opportunities which, a century ago, prompted a few Bada-
797 gas to change their attitudes sufficiently to become Christians, now prompt their
829 descendants to alter other orientations not closely related to religious values but rather to a government and its new classification of employment priorities. Such a change in orientation holds out the chance of upward mobility; but in that process conversion to Christianity is now an anachronistic mechanism.

The New Factions

•578 In the year 1913 there may have been a number of intra-village or intra-hamlet factions of which no record remains; family feuds were undoubtedly common; but there were only two factional disputes of Nilgiri-wide scope -- the one separating Hindus from Christians, and the one about the relative superiority of Wodeyas and Haruvas. During the present century these two divisions have remained, but others have been added to them.

578 615 764 The Wodeya/Haruva dispute was intensified by another conflict: in 1928 the rift between these two factions was deepened by a further dispute that quickly assumed all-Nilgiri proportions (Benbow 1928: 11, 13). This one concerned the question of whether it was a dignified practice to dance around a corpse to Kota music during a Badaga funeral. The new dispute showed exactly the same division of support as in the preceding dispute: those who supported the Haruva claim to superiority wanted to continue the use of Kota music at funerals; those opposed to the Haruva faction were equally opposed to the Kota-music faction. This new-found opposition for what had always been regarded as an essential element in the funeral ceremony arose indirectly from the impact of Tamilian culture and a major change in the cultural orientations of Badagas: they now felt that it was an indignity to the corpse to dance around it in the village, since dancing was now held (by the majority faction) to be an expression of joy that would clearly be inappropriate in this situation. Those who wanted to continue the dancing -- a conservative minority -- stressed that it was an integral and time-honored element in Badaga culture, and to discontinue it would be to dishonor and jeopardize the deceased by performing an incomplete funeral. Most Badagas today no longer invite Kotas to play either at funerals or at weddings and festivals, and most of their other traditional economic connections with the Kotas

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178 have also disappeared (Emeneau 1938: 104-05). The Badagas are attempting to in-
648 crease the social distance between themselves and their more backward and polluting Kota neighbors (Mandelbaum 1960: 302-03).

665 Another factional dispute, which lasted for nearly a quarter century prior to Independence, was a political one: political behavior in that period took the form of a factional division. Although many hamlets were not concerned with political questions at all, the more informed ones -- with higher literacy and closer links to the towns or missions -- tended to align themselves either with the Indian National Congress and the independence movement, or with the Justice Party and a reliance on the British administration of India. At the most violent phase of this faction's history, from Gandhi's [578] salt satyagraha in 1930 to the outbreak of war in 1939, most of the Badaga hamlets were involved in the dispute, and the two factions would not eat or speak together, would sometimes have separate hamlet headmen and celebrate festivals separately, would forbid intermarriage across the cleavage, and would give vent to occasional outbreaks of violent fighting.

518 We have already seen how the dispute over the use of Kota music reinforced
615 an existing factional division over the status of Haruvas. The political dispute we
665 have just described was in practice yet another facet of the dispute over Haruva superiority: the people who supported the Haruva claim were the same people who supported the Indian National Congress. The reason for this is not difficult to see: in Madras Presidency the Justice Party was an anti-Brahmin party; its support depended strongly on the apparent preponderance of Brahmins in the Congress, and on the comparative ease with which the Brahmin minority was getting government employment (to the envy of most non-Brahmins). The great majority of people in the Presidency were not Brahmins, and looked upon Brahmins as incursors from North India. In the Nilgiris the dispute over Haruva superiority thus assumed a political

578 615 665 coloring, for those opposed to Brahmins in general, and ipso facto were in support of the Justice Party.

Before the Kota-music factions and the political dispute arose, another factional division had split all of the Lingayat groups but did not involve other Badagas at all. Some of the Wodeyas, Kapakkas and Adikaris -- as we mentioned earlier in this chapter (p. 123) -- started a practice of arranging marriages with Kanarese Lingayat girls who live in the area which had presumably been the Badaga home-land many centuries ago. The first such marriage occurred around the year 1890, the practice is still not common among Badaga Lingayats, and the marriage of Lingayat Badaga girls to Lingayat men in Mysore is extremely rare. My investigation showed that the families who preferred marriage with Mysore people felt that it might raise their prestige to marry girls from the city of Mysore and its umland, particularly because this was an area with many monasteries and an orthodox interpretation of Vīraśaivism. Most of these people could also cite that the lord Basava himself taught that all men and women are equal, and that caste distinctions and endogamy are social evils, not divine prescripts. The Badaga Lingayats who have opposed the idea of marrying girls from Mysore complain that, because Lingayat philosophy countenances conversion from the lower classes, the Kanarese girl one marries may come from a family originally belonging to a very inferior caste, such as the washermen or leather-workers. Once they have become Lingayats there is no sure means of discovering what their real background has been. This factional split was marked by more violence than most: its culmination came probably in a battle of a thousand or more Lingayat men armed with sticks and rocks, which occurred at one village in 1945. For many years the two factions had not intermarried or interdined; and after this fight they were not allowed to celebrate festivals in that particular

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hamlet except under police surveillance, and separate times were allotted for the two sides to use the temple. For over a decade that hamlet was the scene of such a heated division that each faction within the hamlet maintained its own headman and council.

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A factional dispute over marriage with people from Mysore, which only concerns Lingayats, or a dispute over political affiliations, which concerns primarily the more well-informed villages, are two examples of a faction type that is neither Nilgiri-wide in its application nor confined to a single hamlet. It seems to be an intermediate type concerning particular interest groups. Some other examples can be offered in the period since 1913.

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In 1953 a Badaga Christian studying at Madras University wanted to join the Badaga Students' Association there; and shortly afterwards another Badaga Christian posed the same problem. Two factions therefore emerged in the Association, which had always been tacitly recognized as a purely Hindu organization: one faction accepted Christian members, the other did not. They celebrated their annual "day" on separate occasions for as long as the Christian Badagas remained in the University.

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Another case concerned only the Christian Badagas. Some years ago in one of the Christian villages a majority of the Badagas and some of the Tamil Christians decided that it was disrespectful for the priest to wear shoes while conducting a church service: they reasoned that it would certainly be a gross misdemeanor for a Hindu priest to wear shoes in a temple. For some time the congregation was divided into two factions on this question, and those opposed to shoes in the church would neither wear them there themselves nor attend a service conducted by a priest wearing shoes. Now the dispute has subsided and the two sides interdine and talk

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together. People wear shoes to church if they wish to, while most of the priests judiciously refrain from doing so.

In another Christian village an unusual three-way factional split developed. There the converts came from three phratries, Gaudas, Bedas and Kumbaras. The

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dispute arose because each of these three groups claimed that it was socially superior to the other two groups of converts. In this Christian community little intermarriage occurs across the boundaries between ex-Gaudas, ex-Bedas and ex-Kumbaras. They interdine normally, but refuse to do so during festivals. They raise no objection to attending the same church services together. This particular example is one of the very few having three — rather than two — parties to the dispute. Somewhat similar factions have in the past emerged in the Roman Catholic community between ex-Hindus and ex-Protestants; and in the Protestant community, around 1918, between Wesleyans and ex-Basel Mission converts (Périe 1932: 8).

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In summary, we can see that factional divisions are a deep-seated element in the organization of Badaga life. Even when people are converted to Christianity or go to a distant university for tertiary education, cleavages still occur amongst them which are characterized by a rigid pattern of antagonistic interaction.

The closer cultural ties with the plains, that are reflected in the adoption of the dowry custom, are strongly evidenced also in recent religious changes. The Lingayats have developed closer ties with their gurus and maths (or monasteries) — the organized "church" of Vīraśaivism — in Mysore State. Many Badagas have begun to observe ceremonies, such as Dīpāvali, which until 30 or 40 years ago were associated only with Tamilians and Kanarese. Today most Badaga villages have regular devotional evenings at which bhajans are sung (in Tamil) and Kriśna is worshipped. Another development, unrelated to these, has been the appearance of a Roman Catholic community among the Christians.

Finally in this summary we must take note of the new factions that have emerged since the early years of this century. Most important was the deepening of the cleavage between those supporting Wodeya superiority and those who supported the Haruva claim: this occurred in about 1928 when the former faction threw off its traditional ties with the Kotas, ostensibly because they did not want Kota music performed at funerals, while the smaller pro-Haruva faction has continued its relationship with the Kotas insofar as this is still economically feasible.

The only other factional division that has assumed Nilgiri-wide proportions was one that lasted for a quarter-century prior to Independence, and which separated Justice Party supporters from National Congress supporters. All other conflicts have been relevant only to certain sections of the Badaga community. One divided the Lingayats into two factions, those approving marriages with Kanarese Lingayats and those opposed to the practice. Another cleavage split the Protestant Christians, over the question of whether a priest should wear shoes in the church. Christians were also involved in an unusual three-way dispute in one hamlet, where converts from the Gauda, the Beda and the Kumbara phratry each claimed higher social

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•578 status than the other two groups of converts. Another unusual type of cleavage appeared in the Badaga Students' Association at Madras University: in this case, two factions arose among the Badagas, one admitting Badaga Christian members and the other remaining entirely Hindu.

181 Factions thus appear to be a deep-seated element in Badaga social organization. Some appear in only a single village, others in only one phratry, while several have divided the entire Badaga community.

Analysis of Findings: Some Comparisons

121 One method of placing our findings into the perspective of socio-cultural change as an India-wide phenomenon is to compare these findings with those of other investigators. This is a necessary but perhaps not too satisfactory exercise, as so few studies are comparable with this one in their scope.

The most promising study for purposes of comparison is one done nearly a decade ago by T. Scarlett Epstein. Her detailed study of two villages in the Mandya region, some 70 miles north of the Nilgiris, shows how their economies and social systems have changed over the past 25 years (Epstein 1962). The span of her study is thus shorter than ours, but is still of sufficient length to document significant changes. The area is close enough to the Nilgiris to make the comparison particularly worth attempting. These two villages lie close to the ancient Badaga home-land, and as a consequence the cultures of the two areas still share much. On the other hand it is important to recognize that the Mandya villages are multi-caste settlements, whereas Badaga ones are not. The Mandya area is irrigated and grows sugar as well as rice; the Nilgiri area is not irrigated, grows neither rice nor sugar, but concentrates on producing tea, coffee and potatoes.

121 village] was followed by political change, whereas the persistence of [the irrigated village's] economic structure was responsible for the persistence of its political structure" (Epstein 1962: 320).

121 •578 Factional organization has a different character in the villages of the Badagas, which are unlike those of the Mandya region in not being multi-caste. The economic differential has not been an important one between Badaga factions. Perhaps the only point of close similarity between the factions of the Badagas and of the Mandya area is that some Badaga factions do reflect a cleavage between innovators and conservatives.

121 178 (H48) In the Kanarese villages ritual relationships between peasant farmers and their clients have been attenuated and in some cases dropped. This parallels the situation in the Nilgiris, where many Badagas have dropped their ritual ties with the Todas, Kotas and Kurumbas. Other kinds of ritual change are not paralleled in the two areas, though: the Badagas have adopted a number of ritual observances from the Tamilians, whereas the Kanarese in the Mandya villages, although in contact with Tamilian immigrants, are not reported to have adopted any. Possibly the Tamilians living near Mandya are Untouchables; in the Nilgiris they are often Śudras or Brahmins, and as such their rituals command more respect.

121 Epstein argues (1962: 322) that the change from a subsistence to a cash economy led to the break-down of the joint family unit in the Mandya area. Fathers are now partitioning their land and giving portions for their adult sons to cultivate. The young men feel much more independence when their work is not under the control of a father or an elder brother. The situation has its parallels among the Badagas, and especially in those families where one or two sons work in the factory, the office, or in urban professions. In many instances the most successfully

•578 It is difficult to say whether Badaga factionalism has actually increased during the period of increased cultural change that we have been examining. Records from the early 19th Century are too scanty to make any mention of whether disputes occurred at that time. To judge from what we do know about the history of the Badagas, however, it seems true to say that while only two factional divisions occurred during the 19th Century, dozens have developed during the present century. The most widespread of all disputes is the one between conservatives favoring the continued use of Kota music and services and supporting Haruva superiority, and "progressives" who want Badaga life to resemble more closely that of the Tamilian castes, but who will not permit Haruvas to assume the status of Brahmins. The common tussle between conservatives and progressives in many acculturation situations is thus embodied in this particular dispute.

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The dispute, nevertheless, is not over a simple choice between the past and the future. Each party in it sees the central issues in widely differing ways. For Haruvas the dispute is essentially over establishing their presumed Brahminic status; for Gaudas it is generally seen as being concerned with whether the Badagas should become more like Tamilian castes; for Kotas it is most often seen as a question of the Kotas getting what was their previously unquestioned right (Mandelbaum 1955: 235, 238; Mandelbaum 1960: 274-75).

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These variant views prompt us to take a wider approach to the whole question of Badaga factionalism. The disputes which have concerned large numbers of villages can be thought of as raising questions about which models of Indian society the Badagas should follow as they take their place in the national economy and the national society. The Haruvas have long adopted the Brahminic model: they act as priests, they wear a thread, and maintain a vegetarian diet; they have an origin

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615 myth which equates them with Kanarese Brahmins in the Badaga home-land to the north. But the Haruvas are not accepted as Brahmins by any other Brahmin whom they now meet; they have no ceremony for investiture of the thread; no śraddha is performed for their dead; they do not know Sanskrit, and until quite recently were all 518 illiterate. Their adoption of the Brahminic model has not gone unopposed. The great 615 majority of Badagas are meat-eating Gaudas, whose on-going tradition is itself a guiding model for their behavior. Gaudas have never claimed to be Brahmins, and they disapprove of the "snobbish" attitude of the Haruvas who press this claim. Haruvas are thus caught, as it were, between two different models, the Brahminic one and the dominant Gauda one. And the Haruvas are outnumbered heavily by what is, amongst the Badagas, a large phratry that occupies the position of a "dominant caste" in several ways. Haruvas occupy a position not unlike that of Toreyas, from the point of view of the Gaudas. Both are said to be "employed" by the Gaudas as village-servants; both usually live as minorities in hamlets that are preponderantly Gauda; and both were traditionally dependent upon the good-will of their Gauda neighbors. In such hamlets Gaudas own most of the land and houses, control the festivals and the dispensation of justice, and permit no one but a Gauda to become the headman. Such a control very much tempers the Brahminic aspirations of the Haruvas; as might be expected, therefore, these aspirations find their fullest expression only in the four hamlets which are inhabited exclusively by Haruvas. Gaudas, instead of adopting the 177 615 Brahminic model, are now tending to adopt the modern, metropolitan model that they see in exaggerated form in some films, and which they find helps them to understand the Tamilian traders and officials with whom they have so often to deal.

12 To summarize the conclusions expressed in this chapter: (1) the towns of the Nilgiris have acted as catalysts and centers of resources for the socio-cultural

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4. Visiting the Relatives: A Kin-based Institution

All Badagas are expected by their families to visit affinal and agnatic relatives with some regularity. The effect of this requirement is to keep the joint family ideal alive even after a household has broken up, and to sustain the ties with affines from whom one may at any time need either a spouse or a loan of money.

One such rule is that all Badagas must eat with their close relatives at least once a year. "Close relatives" here means those with whom one is involved in the performance of family ceremonies: it hence includes both one's closer agnates and some affines. Accordingly, a family either sends a message that the members are coming to visit some relatives, or will send an invitation for them to visit instead; and such visits involve minimally the eating of one meal. Everybody recognizes that if relatives do not eat together within a twelve-month period, it means that there is some ill-feeling between them. Steps may even be taken by village elders to locate and rectify the source of the friction, so that it may not impede the performance of ceremonies later on. There may of course be other reasons, such as distance or occupation, which make it impossible for relatives to get together; in this case they may still send gifts of food to each other once a year. In the modern day when business or study obligations can make these family feasts difficult to attend, some Badagas go so far as to prepare a special foodstuff before the twelve-month period since the last such feast has elapsed, a foodstuff which can be kept indefinitely and be fed to relatives whenever convenient, even after the twelve-month period is over.

A man visiting his wife's natal home is always an important guest whether or not he has received an invitation to come. Her family are all very respectful to him for fear he decrease the amount of his wife's contacts with them, which he is certainly in a position to do. For all family ceremonies or festivals in their village, they make sure he is among the first to be invited. When younger siblings of his wife are ready for marriage, he is consulted about a spouse, and may intensify the ties between the two families by suggesting his own sibling or parallel cousin. Hence, any villagers noticing that a man does not attend the ceremonies in which his wife's father is involved will conclude that he is snubbing his father-in-law for some reason.

Visits in the other direction, to the house of a married daughter or sister, are much more circumscribed. Her parents will not go to her husband's home without a good reason. They will however make occasional visits there just to emphasize the bond between the two families and to show that the parents still have affection for their daughter. Her brothers should equally have an invitation or a definite purpose for visiting her. In general, her natal family consider it rather lacking in dignity to visit her too often, and they will try to restrict the visits of any brother who seems especially fond of her. Her husband's family may well feel that very frequent visits from her brothers waste a woman's working time and can even become something of an economic drain.

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The situation among Badaga joint families is one in which these families break up early, typically as soon as the patriarch has died. It accords well with the all-India picture that Kolenda (1967: 172-180) has offered, wherein joint families that break up quickly are a phenomenon that is correlated with a high incidence of divorce and the custom of paying bridewealth: both are characteristic of Badaga society. From Table 5 it can be seen that, while 13.4% of respondents were living in joint families with one or both parents still alive in 1963, only 2.1% were then living in joint families consisting of several brothers with their wives and children. Clearly this latter residential pattern at the present time represents a difficult compromise with an ideal that is traditional but hardly still viable. Younger Badaga men now prefer to live in nuclear units, and to develop their careers or farming pursuits independently of their brothers. In that way income differentials and the sharing of a common household kitty will not have the potential for generating quarrels within the joint family that they did. The family that pays together, stays together—unwillingly though.

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